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1782
v.2

Narrative and Memorial...
Relative to a Regiment, Raised
on the Borders of Switzerland...

By
Colonel Erskine

For Reading Room Only
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1782
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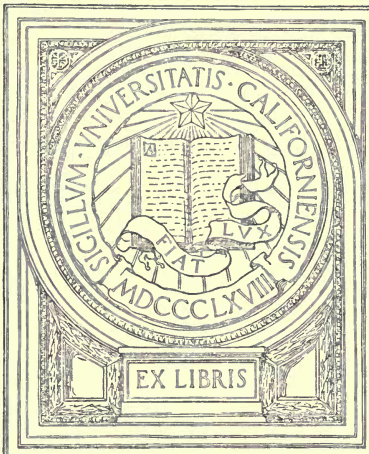
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



NARRATIVE AND MEMORIAL

OF

Colonel ERSKINE,

RELATIVE TO A

REGIMENT,

Raiſed on the Borders of SWITZERLAND,

FOR THE SERVICE OF

The EAST-INDIA-COMPANY of ENGLAND.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
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LETTER

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COURT of DIRECTORS

OF

The EAST INDIA COMPANY.

LIBRARY SETS

RANELAGH, April 29, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR ſecretary, Mr. Mitchell, acquainted me by your orders, on the 3d of this month, "That you could not accept my propoſals of indemnification for myſelf "and officers, but that you were ready to receive and take into conſideration any equi-"table claims I might have to offer you." Permit me to preſent my moſt reſpectful thanks for a determination ſo favourable to me, but at the ſame time to expreſs my concern at being obliged thereby to unfold a tranſaction which I was willing to bury in oblivion.

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As the equity of my claims muſt depend upon the whole circumſtances of the tranſaction put together, I have drawn up a Narrative and Memorial, which is herewith laid before you; ſome errors of ſmall moment may have eſcaped me in a paper of ſuch length, but there is not a fact ſtated of any conſequence, (however extraordinary ſome of them may appear) I have not the moſt ample proof of. They will but too ſurely convince every one who gives himſelf the trouble to examine them, that the Company as well as myſelf have been moſt egregiouſly deceived and injured.

Jenkins

If the Court of Directors had judged my propoſals for raiſing a regiment in Britain, an indemnification to the Company as well as to the officers of my Swiſs regiment, as I meant them to be, there would have been no call upon me to demonſtrate by whom we had been injured, ſince the injury would then have no longer exiſted. But the equity of my claims depending on the queſtion, — Whether the regiment's not reaching England

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England was owing to any fault of mine? — I am under the neceſſity of ſtating the cauſes of my regiment's being ſeized and reſtrained in Germany, in order to prove that they could not originate with me.

It will be very hard indeed, if after having done every thing in my power to avoid this explanation, I am notwithſtanding conſidered as the accuſer; and ſtill harder, if it is ſurmiſed, that I ſhould not upon the receipt of the like order from you ſome months ago, have held juſt the ſame language: in fact, I am the defender, and when aggrieved as I have been, cannot meaſure my words or actions by the degree of good or harm they may do me.

MY MEMORIAL SETS FORTH,

I. That my propoſals and the grounds thereof, had been under diſcuſſion of the Cabinet for ſeveral months before the name of the Eaſt India Company came in queſtion. (a)

(a) See from page 1 to 7.

II. That according to my propoſals, accepted at the recommendation of his Majeſty's Miniſters by the Company, on the 27th of April, 1781, (b) I engaged for no more than that my regiment ſhould be raiſed in time to reach England by the 1ſt of October following. (c)

(b) P. 7--10.
(c) P. 12-14.

III. That though I was kept by the Chairmen from proceeding to execute my engagement for more than a month after the ſignature; (d) my regiment was raiſed in time to reach England by the 1ſt of October. (e)

(d) P. 12.
(e) P. 25, 26, 28.

IV. That I ſigned the contract on the 28th of May, upon aſſurances that I ſhould be in no worſe ſituation than I ſtood in by the engagement ſigned the 27th of April preceding; and that the 27th of Auguſt was named therein for the day of muſter, ſolely for the purpoſe of inſtigating my officers to haſten the levy, aſſurances being given me that I ſhould not be kept to the day ſpecified. (f)

(f) P. 12, 13, 14.

V. That more than the number of men I engaged to levy, were actually raiſed by the 27th of Auguſt, (g) notwithſtanding the extreme pains taken by the court of France to prevent it. (h) That an accident I could neither foreſee nor avoid, was the cauſe of my not being on the ſpot to tender the men raiſed, for muſter on the very day named in the contract; (i) but that only three days later, viz.

(g) P. 25, 26.
(h) P. 19, 21.
(i) P. 27.

viz. on the 30th of Auguſt, I did tender 850 men, which Captain Toone was obliged to refuſe to muſter, by his orders being poſitive not to accept of any tendered after the 27th. (k) (k) P. 28.

VI. That the commanding officer on the ſpot would have tendered in my abſence the men at Rheinau, Singen, Godmantingen, Stein, Waldſhut, Buchorn, and I myſelf thoſe at Lauffen, on or before the 27th of Auguſt, if the letter, appointing Captain Toone to muſter them, had been ſo directed as to authorize the ſaid commanding officer to open it. (l) (l) P. 25, 27.

VII. That of theſe men, 216 were ſeized by the Cantons of Zurich and Berne, (m) 150 by the Regency of Stockart, (n) and 700 by the Duke of Wirtemberg. (o) (m) P. 29. (n) P. 29, 32. (o) P. 35, 36.

VIII. That the Company's orders received by Captain Toone, not to raiſe a ſingle man after the 27th of Auguſt, prevented my re-engaging the men taken from me and diſperſed by the Duke of Wirtemberg; (p) and likewiſe prevented my replacing the Swiſs taken from me by the Cantons of Zurich and Berne by well-diſciplined ſoldiers that were in my offer. (q) That the whole of theſe would in all human probability, have been in England before the 1ſt of October, if his Majeſty's miniſters had granted the protection promiſed, as ſoon as the levy was made, and the Chairmen had not ſent orders by their muſter-maſter contradictory to the ſpirit of my engagement. (p) P. 36. (q) P. 34, 41.

IX. That the Chairmen were induced to ſend me ſuch orders, by a change of ſentiment in his Majeſty's miniſters reſpecting the levy I was making by their orders; who, without giving me any notice thereof, reſolved, "That "my regiment ſhould not be employed." (r) (r) P. 42 to 44.

X. That my regiment, conſiſting of well-diſciplined ſoldiers, was thus ſacrificed, to make room for two others propoſed after mine had been accepted; which his Majeſty's miniſters prevailed upon the Company to prefer, upon aſſurances, that they ſhould conſiſt of none other than Hanoverian ſoldiers, raiſed and be in England before mine. (s) (s) P. 44.

XI. That, notwithwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, neither of theſe regiments did conſiſt of Hanoverian ſoldiers, but of raw undiſciplined men, picked up in the ſeveral free towns throughout German; and that the whole of one of them has not yet reached England, from very unworthy cauſes, though the month of April 1782, is near expired. (t) (t) P. 48, 49.

XII.

XII. That Major Muller and his family, Captains D'Erlach and Gratarall; Lieutenants D'Armine, Foulon, Rodarker, Curtat, Muret, and Baron Adelsheim are banished or ruined in consequence of their having served the East India Company of England to the utmost of their power, as well as myself and several other British officers. (u)

(u) P. 38, 39.

Your justice, Gentlemen, I am confident will incline you to give attention to my Memorial, and upon investigation to do your utmost to redress the hardships I set forth. Allow me to state that it is seven months since I have been soliciting it; that during all that time most of the gentlemen ruined in your service have been upon my hands, my losses consequently increasing every day: I do not complain of the delay, but you must be sensible that any farther will be the same as a refusal.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

To the Honourable
The Court of Directors.

NARRATIVE and MEMORIAL

FOR THE

COURT of DIRECTORS

OF

The EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

I Paſſed the years 1779 and 1780 in Switzerland: that country ſwarms with a hardy race of inhabitants, who, for time immemorial, have bore the character of making remarkable good ſoldiers; they are not only trained to arms from their childhood, and regularly diſciplined two months in every year, but the common diverſion alſo of the country is to fire at a mark, three hundred yards diſtance, with a rifled barrel firelock. At this they are ſo expert that it is rare for two men in ten to miſs. Cuſtoms and manners of this kind muſt naturally catch the attention of every military man who only paſſes through the country at any time; but they made a particular impreſſion on me, who had obſerved, with deep regret, the extravagant price paid by Britain to German princes for much worſe ſoldiers; I had thought their remaining partly bound to our King, and partly to their own ſovereign, muſt create greater confuſion in the ſervice, and be attended with ſtill worſe conſequences than it has; though to this cauſe I then chiefly attributed the diſaſter of Saratoga, and at this day cannot but think it tended to accellerate the fate of our army at York-town and Glouceſter. I laid myſelf out to examine how far it might be poſſible to raiſe Swiſs troops for the ſervice of Britain; and found the general wiſh of the people, in all the

to him, that the King of England's right, as Elector of Hanover, was the ſame to march through Germany, as the King of Pruſſia's, as Elector of Brandenburg. Lord Amherſt promiſed to lay the routes and the obſervations I had made to him, before the Cabinet. And a few days afterwards I received a letter from his Lordſhip, informing me my propoſals had been diſcuſſed in the Cabinet, and that in conſequence I was to fill up the blanks in my propoſals. It was natural hereon for me to conclude that all objections were ſolved, ſave what related to the levy money, and time the troops would take in raiſing.

Towards the latter end of February I received another letter from Lord Amherſt, ſaying again, that His Majeſty had *at preſent* no occaſion for the ſervice of a corps of Swiſs. And though I preſſed as much as poſſible for an explanation of the words *at preſent*, I could get no other anſwer from his Lordſhip than that, as the buſineſs had been fully diſcuſſed in the Cabinet, which had not thought proper to give him any inſtructions on the ſubject, the Commander in Chief could not take ſuch a meaſure upon himſelf alone. Other miniſters told me the ſame thing as to the diſcuſſion of the meaſure; and ſaid that, though no inſtructions had been given to the Commander in Chief, the Cabinet had expreſſed their opinion ſufficiently to authoriſe him to proceed if he choſe it. I imagined the real difficulty lay in an act of parliament being neceſſary for bringing foreign troops for ever ſo ſhort a time into Britain; which, as it was in vain for me to preſs, I gave up farther thoughts of the buſineſs, till the news arrived of Hyder Ally's ſucceſs in the Eaſt-Indies; upon which I renewed my application to Lord Amherſt, deſiring him again to lay my propoſals before the Cabinet. His Lordſhip aſked me a few days afterwards, whether I was ſure the Swiſs would like to go to the Eaſt-Indies; I gave him my reaſons for being certain that they would prefer that ſervice to any other: upon which he told me I ſhould hear farther from him in a ſhort time, and that I might in the mean time wait upon Mr. Devaynes, then Chairman of the Company.

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The ſame night I received a letter from Major Muller, preſſing a deciſive anſwer as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe he had received offers to raiſe a regiment for Holland; of this I immediately acquainted Lord Amherſt.

I waited upon Mr. Devaynes, who informed me that the Company had applied to Government for Britiſh troops, who had none to ſpare, but had offered them either the troops of German princes, or thoſe I propoſed to raiſe. That the Company was of opinon it was ſafer for them, as they muſt have foreigners of ſome kind or other, to employ troops of the ſame deſcription as his Majeſty made uſe of in America. I ſaid every thing I could of the ſuperior qualities of the Swiſs, as well as of the leſſer expence, and advantages attending troops connected with no other power than Britain; but all I could urge did not ſeem to have much effect upon Mr. Devaynes.

I heard nothing farther from Lord Amherſt till the 23d of April, when, having received another letter from Major Muller, ſaying, that if he got no anſwer by the return of the poſt, he ſhould conſider it as a refuſal, and engage with Holland; I went down to Whitehall, thinking both my friend and myſelf extremely ill-uſed, and with intention to demand the return of all the papers I had delivered in on that ſubject. Before I had time to do ſo, Lord Amherſt ſaid he was on the point of ſending for me, being juſt come out of the Cabinet, which had reſolved to accept of my propoſals for the Eaſt-India Company; that I muſt go immediately to Mr. Sullivan, and Sir William James, then Chairman of the Company, who were prepared to receive and finiſh the buſineſs with me. The reſt of my converſation with his Lordſhip will be beſt explained by the letter I wrote him on my return from Switzerland, a copy of which is annexed to this Memorial. Upon my quitting Lord Amherſt, I waited as his Lordſhip ordered, on Mr. Sullivan, who told me he had never heard of my propoſals till that morning, when he attended the Cabinet by appointment, and though

though he was there informed of my offers being approved of, it was a ſubject of too much importance to be concluded in a hurry. He muſt have time to conſider it—I explained to Mr. Sullivan that I had been negociating this levy with his Majeſty's miniſters ever ſince the month of December, that they aſſured me it had been diſcuſſed over and over again, and that my friends in Switzerland had received offers for making the ſame levy from Holland, which they were determined to accept of if they did not get a poſitive anſwer from me by return of the poſt. I had promiſed it them by the mail which went that very night —There was therefore an abſolute neceſſity for my preſſing him to ſay either yes, or no. Upon this Mr. Sullivan gave me authority to engage for one thouſand men, deferring the ſettlement of other particulars till our next meeting, which he appointed to be on the 26th of April, at ten o'clock in the morning. In the interim he would look over ſome papers at the India-Houſe, relative to the Swiſs troops raiſed by the Company about twenty years ago, which would help him to form ſome judgment on a buſineſs of this nature.

I acquainted Major Muller of what was already agreed upon, deſiring him not to give the leaſt hint of our intentions to any one, but to conſider well in his own mind what gentlemen I ſhould offer commiſſions to, as ſoon as I got to Switzerland.

On the Friday morning I returned to Mr. Sullivan according to appointment; he told me, that having looked over the papers he had mentioned to me, he found the Swiſs had been formed into independent companies, and no higher rank granted to any of the officers, than that of Captain, and that it would be impoſſible for him to accept of propoſals founded on any other principle. I replied, that I had had ſo much trouble already with ſolving the different difficulties that had occured to his Majeſty's miniſters, that I was reſolved to leave the matter as it ſtood: He muſt accept or refuſe them altogether. That I by no means underſtood from Lord Amherſt I was to negociate with the India Company. I had already done ſo with his Majeſty's miniſ-

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ters, and the only queſtion remaining to be ſettled appeared to me; whom I was to ſign with? That after the authority Mr. Sullivan had given me for engaging my friend in Switzerland to refuſe the offers of Holland, I had not expected he would propoſe the levy to be in any other form than that which ſtood in the offer which I was informed Government had approved of. It was ſettled that I ſhould wait on Lord Amherſt, and return to Mr. Sullivan at the India-Houſe.

Accordingly I informed Lord Amherſt of what had paſſed between Mr. Sullivan and me. His Lordſhip ſaid, it was not poſſible for his Majeſty's miniſters to ſign any thing that would make it appear, they had authoriſed perſons clandeſtinely to raiſe troops in States at amity with Britain, that the India Company's doing ſo might be palliated, and it could be of no conſequence to me or my friends, who ſigned the agreement, providing the footing the regiment would ſtand on when raiſed, was underſtood to be the ſame as if his Majeſty's miniſters had ſigned before-hand. That, as to the deſire of Mr. Sullivan, that the thouſand men he had engaged to take, ſhould be formed into independent companies inſtead of a battalion, I might acquaint him the Cabinet had approved of my propoſals in the form they ſtood. But that *what he ſaid, and what I ſaid did not ſignify, I muſt write, and get his anſwer in writing*. Upon this I obſerved it might be more proper for his Lordſhip to write than me, but he repeated that his hand muſt not appear, it would anſwer the ſame purpoſe if I encloſed my propoſals to the Chairman, averring them to be approved of by his Majeſty's miniſters. Lord Amherſt went out the moment I quitted him, ſo that I could not ſhew himſelf my letter to the Chairman, but I left a copy with his Secretary, and carried the original ſtrait to the India Houſe, which, ſending in to Mr. Sullivan and Sir William James, they immediately came to me, and after ſome diſcourſe ſaid, that though they had no doubt of my being authoriſed to write ſuch a letter, it was neceſſary for one or the other to ſee Lord Amherſt before they ſigned with me; that, if upon converſing with him upon the ſubject, they

found it was determined that his Lordſhip was not to ſign they would. They fixed the next morning for waiting on Lord Amherſt along with me, which Sir William James accordingly did: he ſtaid in his Lordſhip's ſtudy ſomething better than half an hour; as I remained in the anti-room, I cannot ſay what paſſed between them, but Sir William James, on his coming out and going with me to the India-Houſe, chiefly inſiſted on the regiment's being commanded by, and having as many Engliſh officers in it as poſſible; and upon their not having rank in the King's ſervice. To the firſt I could have no objection, in anſwer to the ſecond I related what had paſſed between Lord Amherſt and me on the ſubject; obſerving, that if Sir William James inſiſted on my giving up the aſſurances I had received, the matter muſt break off, becauſe ſtrictly ſpeaking, I had no authority from my friends in Switzerland to ſign with the Eaſt-India Company, but I would promiſe not to take any ſtep, after the regiment was raiſed, towards obtaining rank in the King's ſervice, without acquainting the Chairman of the India Company before hand, who might ſee whether their repreſentations or mine would have the moſt effect, without my thinking myſelf ill uſed. This appeared to ſatisfy Sir William, who went in to Mr. Sullivan at the India-Houſe, and after ſome converſation together they ſent for me, and the papers to ſign.

My propoſals, as may be ſeen, were to raiſe one, two, three, or four battalions: when one was the number fixed on, I had drawn out a copy of the propoſals in that form, and Mr. Wilkes had been ordered to draw out another, ſo that each party might have a ſigned original. By miſtake the firſt propoſals had been copied by Mr. Wilkes's Clerk, inſtead of the ſecond. This occaſioned ſome diſtreſs when we came to ſign; becauſe a General Court was then waiting for the preſence of the two Chairmen. To remove it, I haſtily drew up the laſt clauſe in the accepted propoſals, which being approved of by the Chairmen, it was added to both copies, and each ſigned by them and me on the 27th of April, 1781.

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The next day I acquainted Lord Amherſt of the Chairmen's having ſigned with me, and ſent him memorandums as ſoon as I could draw them up, of the letters and aſſiſtance I expected from adminiſtration. His Lordſhip told me they were proper, but in the department of the Secretaries of State, to whom I ſhould ſend them. I accordingly did ſo, and ſome days afterwards was honoured with a meſſage from Lord Stormont to wait upon him. I converſed with his Lordſhip near an hour, explaining the method I meant to purſue in collecting the men I had undertaken to raiſe. And was much diſappointed to find that his Majeſty's miniſters abroad would receive no inſtructions to give me any aſſiſtance whatſoever; not even countenance, till the regiment was actually raiſed; particularly that they would not aſk rendezvouſes for me from the German princes on the borders of Switzerland, who had been ſtated to me as attached to the intereſts of Britain. Lord Sormont's words were, "You are not to expect the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, either avowed or "underhand, till at leaſt one half of the regiment is raiſed; Then "Government will conſider it *as having dropt from the ſkies*, and aſk "leave of thoſe princes you have ſtated in your march routes." I aſked if I was to carry no letter of recommendation to the foreign miniſters I had ſtated in my memorandums, they ſaid yes, but ſimply of general recommendation: upon this I ſaid, this was very different from what I had been made to expect when deſired to ſign with the India Company: That it would not appear Government *even wiſhed me* to ſucceed. His Lordſhip heſitated ſome time, then ſaid, to be ſure Government *wiſhed me ſucceſs*, but did not think it very probable I ſhould. I acknowledged that upon this footing, it was not, but ſtill if Government was to give me open aſſiſtance, as ſoon as the men were raiſed, I would attempt it, becauſe I thought it was poſſible to buy renedzvouſes from the German princes and free towns on the borders of Switzerland. Without rendezvouſes obtained ſome way or other, the levy would doubtleſs be abſolutely impracticable.

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The letters Lord Stormont gave me to Sir Robert Murray Keith, Miniſter at Vienna, and to Mr. Heathcot, Miniſter at Bonne, were ſealed. I had deſired letters to our Miniſter at Munich, but his Lordſhip told me we had none at that Court.

The letter Lord Hillſborough ſent me for his Majeſty's Chargé des Affaires at Berne, was open, and ſo worded as to give me little reaſon to expect aſſiſtance in that quarter; but ſeeking explanation, Sir Stanier Porteen told me the ground was too delicate for Lord Hillſborough to expreſs himſelf more clearly; that it was ſufficient for Colonel Braun, the Chargé des Affaires, to underſtand Government was anxious for my ſucceſs. Unverſed in the ſtile of miniſterial correſpondence, I flattered myſelf it might be as Sir Stanier repreſented; and confident that the perſonal friendſhip with which Colonel Braun had honoured me would incline him to give me all the aſſiſtance in his power, I ceaſed inſiſting on a more explicit reccommendation from him.

This ſudden alteration of the conduct of the Cabinet towards me muſt doubtleſs appear as extraordinary to any one who reads this narrative, as it did to me at the time. I had then no gueſs of the cauſe of it; but ſince my return I have been fortunate enough to acquire further lights; by putting facts and dates together, it appears perfectly clear to me, that when I ſet out for Switzerland, Miniſters did not wiſh *I ſhould ſucceed in the levy I had undertaken; and at the cloſe of this narrative I ſhall prove it.*

The day after the Chairman of the India Company had ſigned with me, I delivered in to them memorandums of the ſums they were, according to their agreement, to advance me, and the names of the gentlemen who were ſo good as to become ſecurity for my application of them in terms of my engagement They were alarmed to find that I aſſerted all riſks, but that of deſertion were to fall on the Company, in conſequence of the treaties referred to in my propoſals. They had a meeting with me on this ſubject, at which were preſent Mr. Smith, Solicitor to the Company, who gave his opinion that the words of my propoſal bore, I ſhould run all riſks and expences of the march and

tranſport

tranſport to Britain; I argued the contrary; and ſhewed that a private man muſt have been mad to make ſuch a propoſal to Government; that it was not poſſible for him to attempt it at treble the levy money and advantages I required; I referred to the German treaties I alluded to, and quoted the opinion of an eminent Counſel whom I had conſulted, that my agreement with the Company was to be regulated by them.

The Chairman ſaid they would examine the treaties, and appointed another meeting with me two days afterwards. Waiting upon them accordingly at the India-Houſe, they told me they had ſearched every where for the treaties in queſtion, but could not find them: they were not to be found in Lord Stormont's office; nor could his Lordſhip give them any information concerning them. I told them I had been more fortunate, and produced extracts of ſuch articles in theſe treaties as my propoſals referred to.

The Chairman then deſired that my propoſals ſhould be put into the form of a legal contract, ſaying, it was uſual for the India Company to do buſineſs in that manner, and they might be blamed if they adopted any other mode; aſſuring me that I ſhould be in no worſe a ſituation by the contract than I ſtood in by the propoſals already ſigned.—Upon this footing I agreed to a draught being drawn up of ſuch a contract. It occaſioned me not a little trouble and vexation; for one of my friends, who was willing to join in giving ſecurity for my proper application of the money that was to be advanced me by the Company, declined ſigning a long deed that might ſubject him to law-ſuits without end, however fairly and properly I might lay out the money entruſted to me, if the Company was inclined to be litigious; and another was ſo ſtaggered thereby, that he would give ſecurity only for ſo much as he was good enough to ſay he would willingly pay for any thing that might be of ſervice to me. As to myſelf, I ſigned, in full confidence that a great and illuſtrious Company would make uſe of none but juſt and liberal arms againſt one, who ſtepped forward to render all the ſervice he was capable of to them, at a moment like that he was employed in,

and upon the poſitive promiſe of his Majeſty's Miniſters, that if the Directors of the India Company ſhould attempt any thing like what my friends feared, they would protect me.

The draught of the contract was drawn up by Mr. Smith; the 27th of September ſtood the day for muſtering in Germany; Sir William James obſerved thereon, that my propoſals offered that the regiment ſhould be ready to march ſo as to reach Britain by the 1ſt of October, and that it would be impoſſible to do ſo in leſs than five weeks after the muſter.—I acknowledged it was true, but ſtated that the Company had kept me near a month to ſettle and ſign the contract *propoſed by them*. — But Sir William ſaying, as well as Mr. Sullivan, that the Company would never think of keeping me down to a day, and would be ſatisfied if the ſpirit of my engagement was executed, ſo that the men might be ready to reach England before the ſailing of their fleet for India; I replied, that having as much confidence in their words as their ſignatures, I did not care what was the day ſpecified in the contract.—Sir William ſaid, his reaſon for wiſhing to name a ſhort day for the muſter was, that it would render my officers more alert; and after ſome further converſation, it was agreed that the 27th of Auguſt ſhould be ſubſtituted in the contract in place of the 27th of September, as it ſtood in the ſcroll.

In the various meetings I had with the two Chairs, beween the ſigning of the propoſals and the contract, I thought myſelf very hardly uſed by Mr. Sullivan, who ſeemed to conſider me as having taken improper advantage of him in the courſe of this buſineſs, and to treat me accordingly. I not only reſented it, but was impreſt with the idea that he attempted to turn the tables upon me, and lay more riſks upon me in the contract than he himſelf looked upon me as bound to abide by from my propoſals. I conſidered Sir William James as having protected me, by his candour, from thoſe attempts of Mr. Sullivan; for when we were diſputing on whom the riſk of reſtraint and ſeizure ſhould fall, Sir William James had ſaid, "Why ſhould we preſs Mr.

"Erſkine

" Erſkine on this head, when Miniſtry have told us they would take " that riſk on themſelves, and that the troops he had offered to raiſe " will come cheaper to the Company than any other they can procure " for us." I left England, convinced that Sir William James was my friend, and Mr. Sullivan my enemy.

My contract was ſigned the 28th of May; on the 1ſt of June I ſet out for Margate, but contrary winds prevented my reaching Oſtend till the . Paſſing through Bonne, I delivered Lord Stormont's letter to Mr. Heathcot. I reached Berne the 15th of June, and delivered Lord Hillſborough's letter to Colonel Braun. The next day I ſaw Major Muller, who told me, that knowing that the time of ſervice of a very large number of Swiſs troops in Holland was juſt expired, he had, upon the receipt of my letter, imforming him my propoſals were likely to be accepted, wrote to ſome officers in that country he could rely on, to engage as many of them for the ſervice of England as poſſible; that in conſequence, they had informed him, that if he could obtain a rendezvous any where near Maeſtrich, he might be ſure of ſeveral hundreds joining him immediately, according to the promiſes that were given; but that, without a rendezvous ſo ſituated, it would be impoſſible to get them.—Upon this, I diſpatched Colonel Groſette, whom I had brought with me from England, with a letter to Mr. Heathcot, ſtating exactly what had paſſed between Lord Stormont and me, and deſiring he would uſe his endeavours, if he thought himſelf authoriſed, and not otherwiſe, to procure me ſuch a rendezvous as I wanted, either at Liege itſelf, or any other place in that biſhopric.——Mr. Heathcot very obligingly gave Colonel Groſette introductory letters to his friends at Liege, and they obtained from the Biſhop the town of Warem; —— but different accidents, and the length of time that intervened between Colonel Groſette's leaving me and the receipt of his letter, prevented my being able to make any uſe of the favour the Biſhop had been pleaſed to ſhew me.

Colonel

Colonel Braun adviſed me to conſult Monſieur Tſchiffeli, and others of the moſt eminent counſel at Berne, on the laws reſpecting recruiting, before I took any ſteps, that I might offend as little as poſſible. From them I learned, that the laws againſt enliſting ſubjects of Switzerland within its territories were nearly the ſame in every Canton, and capital againſt ſuch as infringed----but that every ſubject, as well as every citizen, had a right to enter voluntary of himſelf into the ſervice of any country not at war with Switzerland, and that if once I obtained a rendezvous, there was no law to prevent the inhabitants of any of the Cantons from going to engage with me there, nor to puniſh thoſe who received them.

Upon this intelligence, I endeavoured to arrange myſelf. The firſt place mentioned to me as proper for a rendezvous was Bienne, a ſmall republic, of the Proteſtant religion, ſovereign in itſelf, and, by alliance, making part of the Helvetic Body. It is ſituated on the banks of a large lake, communicating with that of Neuchatell and Morat, all navigable, as well as the river Thielle, which runs from it to the Aar, a great river that falls into the Rhine. Large boats go without impediment from any part of theſe lakes to Holland. The territories of this republic are bounded by thoſe of Berne, Soleure, Neufchatell, and the biſhopric of Porentice. From theſe advantages of ſituation, I imagined it would be eaſy for the men I expected both to join me at Bienne, and to proceed, when raiſed, from thence towards Britain. I therefore endeavoured to obtain a rendezvous there; but upon application to the magiſtrates, found there was a treaty between this republic and France expreſſly prohibiting it----Upon engaging however, to give a company to the ſon of one, and a lieutenancy to the ſon of another, they allowed me to take a houſe; they engaging not to examine what was going forward there, and I that there never ſhould be more than forty at a time, whom I would keep from appearing as recruits, that their connivance might not become public.

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This anſwered my end in part; but it was ſtill neceſſary for me to have an open rendezvous ſomewhere; and I went with all ſpeed to Schaffhauſen, where I was flattered that a little management would enable me to get a majority of the Council of State openly to avow the levy of my regiment.----Whilſt my negociation was going forwards with the different members of the Council of Schaffhauſen, I was informed that the Abbé of Rheinau, ſovereign of a ſmall peninſula formed by the Rhine, about a league from Schaffhauſen, might be prevailed upon to grant me a rendezvous. And finding, upon enquiry, his right of doing ſo clear, I made the application, and ſucceeded.---- The Abbé, upon certain terms and ſtipulations, granted me his town of Rheinau, for the reception of all Proteſtants that came to tender their ſervice to the Eaſt-India Company of England; which anſwering my purpoſe nearly the ſame as Schaffhauſen, I left my friends in the Council of that place to proceed as they ſhould judge proper in obtaining a majority. I fixed officers at Rheinau for the reception of ſuch recruits as ſhould offer, and ſent others to the Proteſtant cantons and republics in the neighbourhood of Schaffhauſen, to wit, Baſill, Appenzell, Glaris, St. Gall, the Tokembourg, Rheinthall, and the Griſons, who had printed copies of my contract with the Company, ſtating the ſuperior advantages of this ſervice to any other that would be offered.

My correſpondence with the people of power in thoſe parts was through the interpoſition of a gentleman of Berne, to whom I was warmly recommended by Colonel Braun, and other of his friends.---- Mr. Fiſcher was Bailiff or Governor of La Tourgovie, a province ſubject to Switzerland, ſwarming with inhabitants; his countenance, therefore, which he openly profeſſed to give me, was of the utmoſt conſequence. The officers I ſent, and thoſe they employed, were inſtructed to aſk no one to enliſt, but to ſay, that whoever came to Rheinau would be received. They ſucceeded as fully as I could wiſh, both in impreſſing the country with an ardent deſire for the ſervice of England,

and in eſtabliſhing quarters at different places for thoſe who propoſed to join me at Rheinau. I returned to Bienne, for the purpoſe of receiving ſuch men as came from the canton of Berne and republics of Neufchatell and Geneva, and to give them inſtructions how to gain Rheinau. Each officer I employed in theſe parts diſtributed printed copies of my contract, the ſame as thoſe before mentioned; and ſuch was their ſucceſs, that in leſs than a fortnight after my return to Bienne, upwards of ſix hundred men came and engaged with me there. The terms I had made with the magiſtrates, as well as the diſpoſition of the ſtates of Soleure and Porentrue, made it impoſſible to march theſe men in a body; ſome I ſent by fives and tens through the mountains of Jura; who, gaining the canton of Baſill, were received at a depot, that was connived at, at Augſt, on the banks of the Rhine; and croſſing that river, paſſed through the territories of different German Princes before they gained Rheinau. Others went by water down the Kielle and Aar, to Klengnau and Zurzach, towns belonging to the Biſhop of Conſtance, on the banks of the Rhine, where ſmall depots were connived at, and from whence Rheinau is but a few leagues diſtant. The greateſt part I inſtructed to proceed ſingly ſtrait acroſs the cantons of Berne and Zurich, without informing any one of their intention of offering their ſervices to me.

The whole were regularly enliſted, and ſigned their agreement, or capitulation as they call it, in books of the ſame form as are kept by Swiſs regiments in the French ſervice.

Thoſe who mean to examine whether I took the beſt poſſible means for ſucceſs in the buſineſs I was employed in, muſt have the map of Switzerland before them. The officers I correſponded with from Bienne, were fixed at St. Maurice upon the Upper Rhine, the frontier of Berne and Le Valais. At Villeneuve, at the upper end of the lake of Geneva; at Vivais, Lauſanne, Nion, Geneva, Carouge in Savoy, Orbe, Meudon, Grandſon on the lake of Neuchatell, Morat, Neuville on the lake of Bienne. I had others, who, without corre-

correſponding with me, ſent men by ſuch means as they judged proper to Rheinau from Arberg, Arau, Langnau, Thun, Unterſeven, and Oberhaſeli.

The men ſent me to Bienne reached it without difficulty, and would as eaſily have got to Rheinau, but for the ſteps afterwards taken by the cantons of *Z*urich, Bern, and Soleure.—It is neceſſary here to explain the cauſe of them.

As ſoon as Major Muller had received information from me of my having actually ſigned articles, he aſked leave of the ſtates of Berne to enter our ſervice, without being obliged to give up his poſt of Major of Departement, till ſuch time as he ſhould determine with himſelf whether to remain in our ſervice or not. This requeſt was granted before I reached Berne; and though I by no means approved of the ſtep he had taken, I cannot ſay it was attended with any bad conſequence; it only ſerved to aſcertain the cauſe of my return to Switzerland; and ſo far was it from occaſioning any ſteps to be taken againſt the levy it was apparent I was going to attempt, that there was ſcarce a family of any conſequence who did not, within a week after my arrival, moſt earneſtly recommend to me ſome one of their relations for a commiſſion in my regiment; and every body ſeemed anxious for my ſucceſs. A few days previous to my arrival at Berne, Colonel Meuron, the gentleman who had accepted of thoſe offers from Holland which Major Muller refuſed, came to Neuchatell, and proceeded openly to raiſe his regiment. An officer recruiting there for the ſervice of the King of Pruſſia, came to Berne with repreſentations againſt this levy, a fortnight after my arrival. He applied to Monſieur D'Erlach, reigning Avoyer for the year, complaining both of Meuron's levy and mine, which prevented his getting men. Monſieur l'Avoyer D'Erlach, who had recommended the heir of the elder branch of his family to a company in my regiment, agreed to publiſh mandates in general againſt *enliſting* ſubjects of Berne within the territories thereof, and to mark Colonel Meuron's levy by name, but he refuſed to make any

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mention of mine. Theſe mandates were accordingly publiſhed in every pariſh of the canton; but I was ſo far from taking any alarm at it, that I conſidered it of eſſential ſervice to me. The publication thereof made every body eager to examine the advantages offered in the printed copies of my agreement with the Company, which were diſtributed at the ſame time; and mention being made only of the regiment raiſing for the ſervice of Holland, it was natural to conclude that the ſtate meant to connive at the Engliſh levy.

Such was my reaſoning, ſuch that of the country, and ſuch that of France; the Ambaſſador whereof reſiding at Soleure, within ſix leagues of Berne and Bienne, as anxious to promote the levy of the Dutch, as to thwart that of the Engliſh, took no ſtep till he ſaw which was likely to have moſt ſucceſs; but no ſooner did he find that the ſuperior advantages I offered muſt get me as many men as I choſe to accept of, and that Meuron could get none, than he took as much pains to prevent my levy's going forwards, as if the whole ſucceſs of the war had depended upon it.

It does not require much proof to ſhew that 600 men could not come to me at Bienne in the courſe of a fortnight; though I ſent them off again the moment they had ſigned their engagement, and uſed every other precaution poſſible to prevent the connivance of the magiſtrates becoming apparent, without the French ambaſſador at ſix leagues diſtance only having notice thereof.

Monſieur de Polignac, the French ambaſſador, carried his complaints in the firſt place to Berne, repreſenting ſtrongly againſt my name's being left out in the mandate that Meuron's was put into, inſiſted upon every ſtep being taken to prevent a levy, in direct oppoſition to the treaties ſubſiſting with his maſter. L'Avoyer D'Erlach (who receives a penſion of 500l. a year from France) ſubmitted, and orders were iſſued to every ſubordinate officer throughout the canton of Berne, to the full as contrary to the laws and rights of the ſubjects thereof,

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as to the ſucceſs of my levy. This paſſed two days before I left Bienne, but I knew nothing of it till ſome time after.

Having done every thing I expected at Bienne, and receiving advice from Rheinau, that many men had joined, which made my preſence there neceſſary, I ſat out for Schaffhauſen, leaving perſons I could confide in to take care of my effects and papers, and to give inſtructions to any more men that might come, how to proceed to Rheinau. Paſſing through Berne, I learnt that one of my ſerjeants had been put in goal, and two of my captains cited to anſwer for their conduct reſpecting this ſerjeant. I waited upon Colonel Braun, to aſk his advice, who being informed of all that had paſt between my officers and the ſerjeant confined, did not apprehend any bad conſequences, any more than me; in which opinion I was confirmed by the lawyers I had conſulted before. But when I found that immediately after Monſieur de Polignac had returned to Soleure, meſſengers had been ſent off round the canton, and a reward of fifty crowns publicly offered by *La Chambre des Recrues* to every denunciator of perſons enticing recruits into a ſervice *non avouée*, I begun to be alarmed; and, finding myſelf watched at my lodgings, people coming at every inſtant to offer their ſervices, which I concluded was for the purpoſe of declaring it, and obtaining the fifty crowns reward, I loſt no time in proceeding to Schaffhauſen; for had I been ſeized hold of, there muſt have been an end to the buſineſs I was employed in.

I reached Schaffhauſen the 27th of July, found about 100 men at Rheinau, and that they were coming in daily, the different depots I had eſtabliſhed anſwering perfectly the purpoſe I had deſigned them for, and flattered myſelf that it would be out of the power of the cantons to prevent the men I had engaged at Bienne from joining me, even if they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent them. Far leſs thoſe I expected from Baſil, Zurich, and thoſe parts of Switzerland that border on the lake of Conſtance.

My friends at Schaffhauſen informed me they had not been idle; that if I would have patience till the 20th of Auguſt, they thought themſelves ſure of carrying their point in Council, openly to avow the levy I was making; that the whole town was for it; and the General Council, as it is called, would certainly ſupport the meaſure, even if we ſhould loſe it in the leſſer Council.

It will be as well to obſerve here as any where elſe, that when this point came to be agitated, the queſtion was carried againſt me by only two voices; and that I have proof that the French diſtributed 1500l. to prevent my obtaining a majority. If it is conſidered, that I was at Schaffhauſen intirely in a private capacity, without any authority or aſſiſtance from the Miniſters of my Country, I ſhould flatter myſelf I ſhall not be reproached for only having come near ſucceſs in this part of the buſineſs.

The ſecond week in Auguſt ſo many men came to me at Rheinau, that I began to be afraid the place would not be able to hold them.---- Mr. Heathcote, our Miniſter at Bonne, had been ſo good as to ſend me an oſtenſible letter, for the purpoſe of procuring other rendezvouſes from the different German Princes in the neighbourhood; I made uſe of it; and though it was not ſufficient to procure me open rendezvouſes, it had the effect of making different towns take no notice of the men I ſent there---Lauffenberg, Waldhut, Engen, Buchorn, Merſperg.

I have before had occaſion to mention that Mr. Fiſcher, Bailiff of La Tourgovie, had promiſed me all the under-hand aſſiſtance poſſible in his own government, and to procure the like from other provinces bordering on the lake of Conſtance; from the Biſhop of Conſtance, the Abbé and town of St. Gall, cantons of Appenzell and Glaritz. This gentleman was univerſally reſpected, and bore the moſt unblemiſhed character for probity and honour.

Mr. Fiſcher's words to me on preſenting him letters from Colonel Braun and Major Muller were, "Qui a't'il, Monſieur, qui je ne ferais "pour

" pour vous etre de quelque utilité en cette occaſion? Que pourrai je " refuſer a la requete de Monſieur Le Colonel Braun, mon ami & pa- " rent a qui je ſuis plus redevable qu'a tout autre dans le monde, ou de " Monſieur Le Major Muller l'ami le plus intime de mon cœur depuis " notre enfance juſqu'a ce moment?"

The day after my return to Schaffhauſen, the Abbé of Rheinau acquainted me that the Bailiff of La Tourgovie had wrote to ſignify to him, that the cantons were diſpleaſed at his granting me leave to recruit in his territories. The Abbé deſired me to acquaint the Bailiff, as he would do, that he had only granted me a rendezvous for ſuch men as came to me from other parts, and no permiſſion to recruit. I did ſo. Bailiff Fiſcher thought the Cantons would be ſatisfied with the anſwer, and think no more of it: but ſcarce had I reported his ſentiments to the Abbé when another letter arrived from him, ſaying, the cantons were equally diſſatisfied at my having obtained a rendezvous as permiſſion to recruit, accompanied with a threat of their reſentment if the Abbé did not withdraw his protection from me. I returned to Bailiff Fiſcher, who told me not to be alarmed, it was nothing but words; the Cantons denied the Abbé's ſoverignty; that he muſt aſſert rights which had been acknowledged for ſome hundred years back; and that no one could determine one way or the other but the Helvetic Body in diet, which would not aſſemble again for a twelvemonth to come.

In the mean time I received letters from Berne, informing me that another of my ſerjeants had been ſeized at Soleure; that letters were found on him wrote to me by different of my friends at Baſill, from whence he was coming, and printed papers of various kinds; that he was confined in irons, and threatened with death: that the other ſerjeant confined at Berne had upon his examination ſaid, he went to me at Bienne by the advice of a Mr. Hernan, whom I had employed as my ſecretary, who was thereupon ſeized in his bed before he had time to deſtroy his papers; that amongſt them was found a liſt of all the people I had ſent, with copies of my agreement with the Company, to different parts of the canton.

canton. Upon this Major Muller and Captain D'Erlach were confined in their reſpective houſes at Berne, and orders ſent to the places indicated in my ſecretary's liſt, to ſeize every one mentioned therein, with deſcription of their perſons. The magiſtrates of Bienne informed me likewiſe, that the French Ambaſſador and the canton of Soleure had formally given them notice of my practices within their territories to raiſe men, and demanded the removal of myſelf, ſervants, and dependants, from the houſe I had taken for a twelve-months. Colonel Braun likewiſe gave me notice, that the canton of Soleur had reſolved to ſeize me if found within their territories; that the Ambaſſador of France preſſed the canton of Berne to come to the ſame reſolution concerning me, which there was but too much reaſon to fear would be complied with, and that therefore he inſiſted I ſhould not come within their reach; that ſuch precautions were taken againſt any of the peaſants quitting the canton, that I muſt not expect any more belonging to that canton than thoſe already come would be able to join me; and by the ſteps he was informed the French Ambaſſador was taking in every other canton, he much feared each would take the ſame precautions againſt me as that of Berne, according as the French Ambaſſador had earneſtly preſſed them to do by circular letters to each.

Though this information would have been far from making me deſpair if I had had ſix months more to complete my levy in, yet I concluded therefrom it would be impoſſible for me to get 600 men more out Switzerland in time for the ſailing of the India fleet, far leſs in the very ſhort ſpace left me by the words of my contract; I therefore determined to ſet out for Studgart (where I knew the Duke of Wirtemberg had troops to diſpoſe of) as ſoon as I had taken meaſures to ſecure the men who had joined me in the neighbourhood of Schaffhauſen. I waited upon Bailiff Fiſcher, to aſk him if he apprehended the Cantons would make any further efforts with the Abbé of Rheinau that he ſhould withdraw his protection from me? The Bailiff was of opinion, they would not; but thought it prudent for me to obtain ſome other rendezvous, where

where my men would be in perfect ſafety in caſe they were drove from Rheinau. " I," ſays he, " muſt not appear openly in this after the " public diſapprobation given of your levy by my Sovereign; but a " friend of mine here, no ſubject of Berne, and equally well acquainted " with the rights and privileges of the free towns on the borders of " Switzerland and Germany, will be able to manage this matter for you; " he belongs to one of them himſelf, and I recommend him to you as a " perfectly honeſt man, whom you may rely on." The Bailiff accordingly introduced me to a Mr. Fehr, who immediately ſet out for Stein, a free city at the mouth of the lake of Conſtance, which, as he informed me, had done the ſame thing for the Pruſſians during the laſt war between that power and the Auſtrians, without paying any regard to the proteſtations and threats of the Emperor and cantons of Switzerland.

This Mr. Fehr came the next day to me at Schaffhauſen with information that he had ſucceeded, and ſigned a treaty in my name with the town of Stein, which engaged to let me place as many men within their gates as I choſe, and to protect them as long as they ſhould remain there, for the conſideration of 300 guineas, but under promiſe, that if the canton of Zurich inſiſted upon their withdrawing their protection from me, I ſhould march out upon a month's notice. I went the next morning with Mr. Fehr and my money to ratify the treaty he had made for me. I found it wrote in German, but Mr. Fehr tranſlating it to me, had no miſtruſt, and thought both the money I delivered to the magiſtrates of Stein and what I gave to him for his trouble very well beſtowed.

I returned to Schaffhauſen, and gave inſtructions to the officer I left to command during my journey to Studgart, that he ſhould march to Stein, in caſe accidents happened at Rheinau, or any of the other leſſer depots my recruits were now in. The night before I left Shaffhauſen I looked over the regimental-books, and found the number that had joined me at Rheinau to be 402. I left a fortnight's pay with the commanding officer,

and a credit for him of 300l. with my banker, in caſe of more recruits coming in: and the next morning, being the 12th of Auguſt, ſet out for Studgart, which I reached the next day. Upon application to the Duke of Wirtemberg, his Serene Highneſs deſired me to apply to Monſieur de Moſheim, miniſter at his court from the Elector of Hanover; who ſatiſfying the Duke of my commiſſion, his Highneſs appointed Monſieur de Strahlendorf, one of his aid-du-camps, to negociate with me, and deſired Monſieur de Moſheim to be preſent at every thing that paſſed between us. His Excellency was ſo good as to make us underſtand one another, for Mr. de Strahlendorf could ſpeak no other lauguage than German, of which I only underſtood a few words. On the 22d of Auguſt we ſigned a treaty in German, whereof I have a tranſlation in French, certified by Monſieur de Moſheim. Mr. de Strahlendorf engages in the name of the Duke of Wirtemburg, that he ſhall furniſh me with 700 diſciplined ſoldiers, with a certain number of officers, at Lauffen, on the banks of the Neckar, for which I engage to pay 10 louis d'ors a man upon the receipt of them. By another article they were to enter into the pay of the Eaſt India Company on the day of ſignature, for which purpoſe I was to place 1000 louis d'ors in the hands of Mr. de Strahlendorf. I was to have the liberty of keeping them in the territories of Wirtemberg as long as I choſe, providing I continued to advance their pay.

The treaty being ſigned, I gave a bill for 1000 louis d'ors on Meſſrs. Bethman, at Frankfort, upon whom I had letters of credit, which was ſent by expreſs: an anſwer returned on the 24th at night, that they had received advice of my letter of credit, the bill was a good one, and would be accepted the moment I preſented the letter; but it was a rule of the houſe, to accept no bill without ſeeing the perſon in whoſe favour the credit was given. Bills of exchange are not ſo common in that part of Germany as in more commercial ſtates, and the nature of them little underſtood. The Duke of Wirtemberg miſtruſted me upon the receipt of Meſſrs. Bethman's anſwer, and I found myſelf obliged either to give up the 700 men,

men, or produce the 1000 guineas in ſpecie on the 27th. I determined immediately to go to Frankfort, though at 50 leagues diſtance, and was fortunate enough to return with the money in the evening of the 27th, which I inſtantly paid to Mr. de Strahlendorf; his receipt is in German, but I have the tranſlation of it in French, made and certified by Monſieur de Moſheim. Different arrangements it was neceſſary to make about the troops I had obtained from the Duke of Wirtemberg kept me at Studgart till the 29th, and I did not reach Schaffhauſen again till the 30th, at breakfaſt.

I had left that place on the 12th, under the idea that no muſter-maſter would arrive till the 22d, by which time I had propoſed to be back again; but I had received information at Studgart, on the morning of the 24th, that Captain Toone arrived at Schaffhauſen on the 17th, with a letter directed to me, appointing him to muſter ſuch men as were raiſed. Lieutenant Alt, who commanded in my abſence, informed me, that the letter being directed to me as a private man, and no inſtructions for any other to open it in my abſence, he had not thought himſelf authoriſed to do ſo, but thought it proper to adviſe me, that I might return as ſoon as poſſible; Captain Toone was likewiſe ſo good as to acquaint me of his arrival: but neither of theſe gentlemen gave me the leaſt intimation that they ſhould not be able to muſter a man after the 27th of Auguſt. When I received theſe letters, I expected every moment the return of the expreſs ſent with my bill to Meſſrs. Bethman, at Frankfort, the acceptance of which I had no doubt of. And the poſt returning to Schaffhauſen, in an hour after its arrival from thence, I had wrote to Captain Toone, I ſhould certainly come to him on the 26th, and to Lieutenant Alt, to have all the men ready for muſtering. When I found myſelf obliged to go to Frankfort, I diſpatched an expreſs to Schaffhauſen, informing Lieutenant Alt, I ſhould not be there till the 30th, and explaining the cauſe thereof.

The firſt thing I learned upon my arrival at Schaffhauſen was the diſaſters that had happened during my abſence—of them more fully hereafter. Then Captain Toone preſented me the Chairman's letter, appointing him

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to muſter my men, ſo worded, that I concluded the Company no longer wanted the regiment they had engaged me to raiſe, and would be extremely happy to throw the failure upon me. The letter and my anſwer will ſpeak for themſelves.

I had been ſix nights together out of bed, moſt part of that time travelling, ſometimes in a chaiſe, ſometimes on horſeback, through the moſt execrable roads poſſible. And what with the fatigue of my body, and that of my mind, from ſo many diſappointments and mortifications coming altogether upon me, I was very much overcome; but recovering myſelf after a little refreſhment, I enquired of Lieutenants Alt and Foulon, how many of my recruits had eſcaped? They informed me, there was 80 at Rheinau, 40 at Gotmantingen, and 30 at Singen. Upon which I immediately tendered them for muſter to Captain Toone, and proffered to proceed with him to Lauffen, to muſter thoſe I had obtained from the Duke of Wirtemberg, as ſoon as he had examined ſuch as were at hand. Captain Toone aſked me, if I had paid attention to the letter he brought me from the Chairman, and ſaid, that from the copy he had thereof, he did not think himſelf authoriſed to muſter a ſingle man after the 27th of Auguſt; his commiſſion ended that day. He was ſo good as to ſay, he lamented my ſituation, and would do any thing he could to ſerve me; but appealed to myſelf, whether, if I had been in his place and he in mine, I muſt not have given him the ſame anſwer? I could not but acknowledge it, and therefore preſſed him no farther.

Lieutenant Alt then gave me the following particulars of what had occurred to his command during my abſence. Almoſt as ſoon as I was gone for Studgart, different advices had been ſent to the Abbé of Rheinau by his friends, that ſomething was meditating between the magiſtrates of Zurich and the Bailiff of La Tourgovie, againſt the levy he had granted a rendezvous to; this the Abbé had communicated to Lieutenant Alt, deſiring him to ſend forwards as many men as his other quarters would hold. On the 16th the Abbé received certain intelligence that Bailiff Fiſcher would in a few days bring an armed force from Zurich, and take away

away ſuch recruits from Rheinau as were ſubjects of that canton or of Berne. Lieutenant Alt acquainted the Abbé he had the moſt poſitive orders from me to reſiſt any power, ſave the Sovereign under whoſe protection he and his men were, but to retire to other places I had ſecured if the Abbé choſe to command it: he ſhould therefore obey his orders, either in providing arms, or retreating. The Abbé told him, that if I had provided other places of ſecurity, reſiſtance could anſwer no other purpoſe than bringing him into difficulties; that he was certain the Cantons of Zurich and Berne would only require their own ſubjects; and if he removed them, the reſt might ſtay without any danger at Rheinau. Lieutenant Alt accordingly ſent 40 to Godmantingen, 30 to Singen, two ſmall villages belonging to a free Baron of the empire, and 216 to Stein.

According to the intelligence the Abbé had received, Bailiff Fiſcher came with an armed force to Rheinau on the 20th, and examining the men that were left there, found only one drummer belonging to Zurich, whom they carried away with them in irons. The Bailiff joked with Alt on the diſappearance of the ſubjects of Zurich and Berne, and wanted to learn from him where they were gone to; but Alt, grown ſuſpicious of him, and thinking there were evident marks of mortification on his countenance, would give him no anſwer. The next day a man came to Rheinau, and was drinking the greateſt part of it with Lieutenant Neuwieler, whom Bailiff Fiſcher and the Mr. Fehr, who engaged me in the treaty with Stein, had earneſtly recommended to me for a commiſſion. Lieutenant Neuwieler commanded the party at Stein, and had come over to Rheinau for money. On the 23d he returned to Stein. On the morning of the 24th, before the gates of Stein were open, Bailiff Fiſcher appeared upon the bridge, at the head of 150 armed men, and demanded my recruits, whom the magiſtrates ordered Lieutenant Neuwieler to produce; he did ſo, and without reſiſtance, or even repreſentation, delivered them over to his friend, Bailiff Fiſcher. The town was moſt ſtrictly ſearched for another of my officers, Lieutenant Rodarker, who being a

ſubject, but not a citizen, (Bourgeois) of Berne, Bailiff Fiſcher had particular orders to get hold of. No notice was taken of Lieutenant Neuwieler, who was ſuffered to return to me, though exactly in the ſame predicament as Rodarker.

All this put together gave me moſt violent ſuſpicions that Bailiff Fiſcher had from the beginning meant to betray me, and had with that view recommended Neuwieler and Fehr to me. I ſoon obtained the moſt ample proofs of it, as well as of his deſign to puſh his treachery further, by getting hold of my perſon, and ſending me to Berne, where an apartment in the gaol was already allotted for me.

The day after this pretended friend had ſeized my men at Stein, he came to Schaffhauſen, and left a very earneſt meſſage for me, requeſting me to come and dine with him at his houſe, about five leagues off, as ſoon as I ſhould return from Studgart. I wrote to him, expreſſing without diſguiſe the ſuſpicions I entertained of his conduct, and the cauſes thereof, excuſing the putting myſelf in his power till he had juſtified himſelf of the treachery every body accuſed him of. He endeavoured to do ſo, and pledged his honour, but in very equivocal words, that if I came to him at Frauenfield no harm ſhould happen to me: his letter finiſhed with ſaying, that if I had any miſtruſt remaining, he would meet me at Dieſſenhoſen, a place without his juriſdiction, with papers that would ſatisfy me of his innocence.

I had obtained full proofs of Bailiff Fiſcher's double dealing with me before I received this anſwer, which of itſelf indeed was pretty nearly ſo, for Dieſſenhoſen, the place he propoſed for our meeting, though without his juriſdiction, was entirely devoted to him; it was from thence he took the armed force that had ſeized my men at Stein: I therefore replied, that I could not be at Dieſſenhoſen at the hour he appointed, but ſhould be on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, where I ſhould be glad to ſee the proofs of his juſtification mentioned in his letter to me, and hoped he would have no objection to croſs the bridge of Dieſſenhoſen.

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My intention was to force him to give me the only ſatisfaction remaining in his power; whether he ſuſpected it or not I cannot tell, but he ſent me an apology by Lieutenant Neuwieler, whom he had the aſſurance again to recommend to me. I put Neuwieler under arreſt, both on account of the ſuſpicions I had formed of his treachery, and for having cheated me of between two and three hundred pounds at Rheinau and Stein, in the payment of the men under his command. Neuwieler complained to the Burgo-Maſter of Schaffhauſen, who repreſented to me, that I having no authority at that place, the obedience of Neuwieler could only be voluntary; I acknowledged it, but hoped he, the Burgo-Maſter, would interpoſe to prevent Neuwieler's going off with my money. The Burgo-Maſter, though the perſon who prevented my getting Schaffhauſen to authoriſe my levy, ordered that Neuwieler ſhould remain in cuſtody till he paid me, or gave ſecurity for it. Neuwieler pleaded he had Bailiff Fiſcher's orders to return that evening to Frauenfield upon buſineſs of great importance to the Cantons of Zurich and Berne. The Burgo-Maſter permitted him to go upon giving ſecurity for his return in two days, which Nieuwieler finding, ſet out as he ſaid for Frauenfield about four o'clock in the evening. At nine o'clock, Lieutenant Foulon came to me from Rheinau with the Abbé's compliments, ſaying, that Lieutenant Nieuwieler had come to him from Bailiff Fiſcher, inſiſting that he ſhould immediately ſend away all my recruits remaining at Rheinau, and menacing him with the utmoſt reſentment of the cantons if he did not. That in conſequence of this meſſage, he was under the neceſſity of deſiring me to march out by ſix o'clock the next morning; that Neuwieler had preſſed him very much to make me march that very night, but he choſe to run any riſks rather than do ſo, as he knew ſome time would be neceſſary for me to obtain a place of ſafety for them. Thoroughly enraged at this new piece of treachery on the part of Neuwieler, I went immediately to Rheinau with Lieutenant Foulon, and getting the gates opened, catched Neuwieler, who was juſt going to bed, and

and had only time to put his ſword on. In the heat of my reſentment I knocked all the teeth out of his head, and broke his collar bone in kicking him down ſtairs. Then, telling him I would forgive all that had paſſed, if he informed me of the perſon whoſe errand he executed; that I had taken him for Bailiff Fiſcher when I put him in that pickle. I got upon my horſe, and returned to Schaffhauſen.

The next morning, September the 5th, I ſent to inform Bailiff Fiſcher of what had paſt, adding, that though buſineſs required my preſence elſewhere, I ſhould wait his commands, and was ready to give him the ſatisfaction I ſuppoſed he would require, at any place out of Switzerland. Having done ſo, I ſet out for Baſill to get money from my banker there, for the payment of levy-money to the Duke of Wirtemberg, 7500l. On my return, September the 8th, I got Bailiff Fiſcher's anſwer, declining to meet me.

The Abbé of Rheinau ſent my recruits from thence on the 5th of September, who proceeded to Godmantingen and Singen; but not contented with that, he inſtituted a pretended proceſs againſt me; wherein, making himſelf party witneſs and judge, he condemned me to pay, without ſo much as ſummoning me to anſwer, a hundred guineas, for the hoſtilities alledged to be committed by me in his territories. To complete the matter, he ſeized hold of Lieutenant Alt, his effects and papers, threw him into priſon, and perſiſted in keeping him there, till ſuch time as I ſhould ſubmit to this ridiculous ſentence. This extortion was the more grievous to me, as one way or another, the good Abbé had already got from me the full value of 500l. This makes a ſeparate part of my hiſtory, which it is needleſs to enter into any farther, than to ſay, that Lieutenant Alt has been kept from that day to this, in priſon or arreſt, without its having been poſſible for me to get miniſters to take any one ſtep for the relief of a Britiſh ſubject, unjuſtly impriſoned by ſo petty a prince as the Abbé of Rheinau.

It had been my intention, on my arrival at Schaffhauſen, on the 30th of Auguſt, to go and fetch my papers and effects from Bienne as ſoon as my

my men were muſtered, but I had found letters lying there from Colonel Braun and the magiſtrates of Bienne, informing me, that the ſtricteſt orders had been given throughout the cantons of Berne and Soleure, and the biſhopric of Pountue to ſeize hold of me wherever I ſhould be found, that my perſon was ſo deſcribed, that it would be impoſſible for me to eſcape, if I attempted to paſs through them. There was no way of reaching Bienne, without paſſing one or the other. The magiſtrates whereof, further informed me, that though they had reſiſted the ſolicitations of the ambaſſador of France to ſearch my houſe, and ſeize hold of my domeſtics and papers, yet they could not do ſo long, now that the cantons of Zurich, Berne, and Soleure joined in theſe ſolicitations; they therefore earneſtly conjured me not to come back again myſelf, and to give proper orders to my domeſtics to remove themſelves, as well for my own ſake as for theirs, who would be diſgraced, if forced to take any part againſt a perſon they had entered into private engagements with. Having papers at Bienne that would have involved every perſon I had any connection with in Switzerland; I was very much alarmed at this intelligence, and ſent immediate orders to the ſervant I confided in, to deſtroy every paper I had there. There were ſome I wiſhed much to preſerve; but it was impoſſible for me to allow a ſervant to examine all my letters and accounts, where other men's ſecrets were as well as my own, I therefore ordered them all to be put into the fire together, immediately on the receipt of my letter.

Colonel Braun having made no mention of the canton of Baſill, taking any ſteps againſt me, and my friends in that place being of opinion there was no riſk in my coming there; I left Schaffhauſen on the 5th, as I ſaid before, with the intention of going to my banker's, Meſſrs. Merian at Baſill; but upon reaching Rhinfelden, three leagues from it, on the 6th, I found a meſſage from Colonel Teiſchman and Mr. Merian, informing me of Baſill's having taken the ſame ſteps againſt me as the other cantons mentioned, and of orders being given to ſeize me at the

gates if I came that way. They therefore propoſed coming to me at Rhinfelden, inſtead of my proceeding to them at Baſill.

Colonel Teiſchman and Mr. Merian accordingly came to me at Rhinfelden that evening, we ſettled the buſineſs of the money on the 7th, and the 8th I returned towards Schaffhauſen, that being the road for Studgart. Delays on the road prevented my reaching that place till the 12th. One of theſe delays proceeded from my receiving information on the road, that the regency of Stockart had put my men and officers under arreſt at Godmantingen and Singen, till ſuch time as the Emperors pleaſure reſpecting them ſhould be known, and warning me not to come there, leaſt I ſhould be likewiſe ſeized myſelf. This obliged me to make a circuit of twenty leagues through the worſt roads in Europe.

On my return to Studgart, Mr. de Strahlendorf informed me the Duke of Wirtemberg had the day after my leaving it, ſent a great many officers recruiting through his dominions and neighbouring free towns, who had been ſo ſucceſsful, that the Duke having now recruits ſufficient to ſupply their place, could give me 300 diſciplined ſoldiers, over and above the 700 in the pay of the Eaſt-India Company. I told him my orders at preſent were to raiſe no more men than thoſe I had already; but that I hoped to prevail upon the Company to take them in lieu of thoſe who had been ſeized on the frontiers of Switzerland. Upon this Mr. de Strahlendorf told me the 700 men were ready to march whenever I choſe, that two of the Captains were named, and the ſubalterns would be appointed in two days at fartheſt. Then he deſired in the name of the Duke to know when I propoſed they ſhould march. I told him as ſoon as the miniſters of his Majeſty had obtained leave of paſſage from the different princes, whoſe territories I muſt paſs. That through the protection I was honoured with by his Serene Highneſs Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, I had without the interpoſition of any miniſter, already obtained the leave wanted from every prince in the circle of Suabia, and his Majeſty's miniſters had given me to underſtand the permiſſion of other princes would be obtained as ſoon as it

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was formally aſked for; but there were ſo many of them, and at ſuch a diſtance from one another, I could not hope the forms would be gone through in leſs than twenty or thirty days. Mr. de Strahlendorf ſaid, certainly not, but obſerved, that in ſuch caſes it was always adviſeable to put treaties into execution as ſoon as poſſible.

The ſettling of the officers who were to go with me took up ſeveral days. On the 18th, Monſieur de Moſheim informed me other difficulties had ariſen on the repreſentation of the French miniſter, Monſ. de Vibrais; on the 19th, that the Duke was inclined to break the treaty with me, and had appointed the next morning for my waiting upon him along with Monſieur de Strahlendorf, who would conduct me, *en cachette*, to his country retreat at Hokenheim. I accordingly waited on his Serene Highneſs at four o'clock in the morning. He was pleaſed to tell me, he was moſt extremely concerned at being under the neceſſity of ſtopping the men he had granted me, for that France had ſome how or another got intelligence of the treaty Mr. de Strahlendorf had ſigned with me, and had ſent orders to the miniſter at his court to make the ſtrongeſt repreſentations againſt it; and to ſay, that if he did not immediately give aſſurances not a man ſhould march, the court of France would ſeize his province of Montbeliard in Alſace. His Serene Highneſs told me, the revenues of that province brought him in 2000l. a year, that I muſt ſee it would be perfectly ridiculous for him to riſk that for 7500l. but that if the King of Great Britain would guarantee it to him, he would furniſh him with four or five thouſand men immediately, to be employed wherever his majeſty ſhould judge proper. That he hoped if I carried a letter ſignifying as much to my ſovereign, I would not object to the cancelling the treaty Mr. de Strahlendorf had ſigned with me. I replied, with the reſpect that became me, that I had a commiſſion from the India Company to raiſe a regiment for their ſervice, but none to diſpoſe of troops who had been near a month in her pay, that I could not conceive, that connected as his Serene Highneſs ſtood with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and likely to be ſo in the ſame degree with,

with the Emperor of Germany in the courſe of a few months, that France would venture to ſeize Montbeliard on account of his Serene Highneſs having furniſhed the Eaſt-India Company of England with troops deſtined to oppoſe Hyder Ally, uſurper of the kingdom of Myſore, with whom the court of France had never ſignified, I preſumed to his Highneſs her having any alliance. The Duke then told me, he would diſcharge the 700 men, and privately recommend their engaging with me at Heilbron, where he knew I had a rendezvous, this would equally enſure the men for the ſervice of the Eaſt-India Company, and at a ſixth part of the ſum I paid him for them. I acknowledged it would, and regretted extremely my having received orders on the 30th of Auguſt to raiſe no more men, whether my regiment was complete or not.

On my return to Mr. de Moſheim, I informed him of what had paſt, and after conſulting him, wrote a very reſpectful letter to his Serene Highneſs, repeating what I had the honour of ſaying to him in perſon, and obſerving, that whatever weight the arguments his Serene Highneſs made uſe of, were againſt *making* any treaty without including the guarantee of the province of Montbeliard, they did not apply to the cancelling of a treaty after it was ſigned.

The Duke of Wirtemberg was ſo angry at the receipt of this letter, that he inſtantly diſcharged the men in queſtion, and threatened not to give me the letter to his Majeſty as he had promiſed, without I conſented to give up the treaty Mr. de Strahlendorf had ſigned with me.

Monſieur de Moſheim obſerved to me, that the treaty now the men were gone, was mere waſte paper, that could anſwer no other purpoſe than my juſtification, that copies certified by him, would anſwer the ſame effect, and I might be blamed at home for refuſing to bring an engagement from the Duke for four or five thouſand men that he offered me. I could not but acknowledge the truth of theſe reflexions, and agreed to give up the treaty, if the Duke ſent me a letter to his Majeſty, the purport of which I put upon paper for fear of miſtakes. Upon which the Duke returned me the pay he had received, and a

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ſealed letter for his Majeſty, which I brought ſtrait to London, and delivered to Lord Stormont. Some days afterwards his Lordſhip aſſured me there was not a word in it correſpondent to the engagement his Serene Highneſs had entered into with me that there ſhould be.

In my way home, I ſtopped a day at Bonne, and deſired Mr. Heathcote to certify to Sir Robert Murray Keith, the King's miniſter at Vienna, that I had brought him a letter from Lord Stormont ſome months before, and ſhewed him one directed to Sir Robert at Vienna, which I had been obliged to deſtroy amongſt other papers at Bienne. I wrote myſelf at the ſame time, and entreated him to procure the enlargement of my men ſeized by the regency of Stockart. Not long after my return to London, I got his anſwer, telling me, that though he had received a duplicate of the letter Lord Stormont had given me, he could make no application about my men ſeized by the regency of Stockart till further orders; I applied for ſuch to Lord Stormont, but could obtain no other ſatisfaction, than that my regiment was a private affair between the Eaſt-India Company and me. And finding there was no other means of obtaining the releaſe of my officers and men, than by ſubmitting to the extortion of the regency of Stockart, and commandant of Conſtance, I paid eleven hundred guineas for that purpoſe.

The counſel I have conſulted on this buſineſs, have given their opinion, that this expence muſt, in *ſtrict law*, fall upon me; I cannot ſay I apprehended it would when I paid it; but I ſhould have equally done ſo, had I known it would, for I had much rather be ruined altogether, than have my name quoted in foreign countries, for having drawn gentlemen and others into the ſervice of Britain, and leaving them afterwards to die for want in a jail: as ſix officers and upwards of a hundred men muſt have done, if I had not paid this money.

I applied to Lord Hilſborough, in whoſe department Switzerland is, beſeeching his Lordſhip to take ſuch ſteps, public or private, as his Lordſhip ſhould judge proper, to prevent the rigour of *ex poſt facto* law being put in execution againſt my officers at Berne. The Chairmen of the India Company

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had done the ſame before my arrival in London, without effect. I repreſented to his Lordſhip, that Major Muller, Captain D'Erlach, Lieutenants Murét and Hernan, were in priſon, the two latter, as Colonel Braun had informed me, in great danger of death, the fate of the firſt very doubtful, and that a private letter to any one man of conſequence at Berne would ſave them all. Lord Hillſborough ſaid, he knew no one there, I intreated him to write to Colonel Braun, who being of one of the firſt families at Berne himſelf, and connected by marriage with all the reſt, would eaſily find means of letting Lord Hillſborough's wiſhes be underſtood, without his Lordſhip's name appearing in the leaſt; his Lordſhip replied, he could not write to Colonel Braun on this buſineſs; I deſired leave to write myſelf, he ordered me not, and ſaying they were Swiſs ſubjects, gave me to underſtand, that if Bailiff Fiſcher's kind intentions of ſending me to Berne had ſucceeded, he could have taken no ſtep to prevent my ſuffering along with them.

I made repeated applications of the ſame nature to Lord Amherſt, the ſubſtance of them is in the copy annexed, of a letter addreſſed to his Lordſhip, to which I received an anſwer, and as his Lordſhip has ſince been ſo good as to recommend me to the Chairmen of the Eaſt-India Company, I preſume, no doubt, of the facts ſtated therein, being ſtrictly true, can exiſt in the mind of any one who gives himſelf the trouble to read it.

All my officers mentioned in this narrative have been baniſhed. Major Muller fined 700l. Captain D'Erlach 300l. Lieutenants Murét and Hernan 200l. each, Lieutenants D'Arnine, Foulon, Curtat, and Rodarker were fortunate enough to eſcape, no judgment has therefore paſſed againſt them; but they cannot return to their own country without being tried, and probably condemned to the ſame penalties.

The caſe of Major Muller is moſt particularly hard, he had lands worth from ſix to eight thouſand pounds. Upon his baniſhment the ſtate ſeized thereon for payment of the penalty; all his creditors came upon

upon it in like manner, and it is likely to be ſold at half value, his wife, two ſons, and three daughters thrown pennyleſs on the world.

All theſe gentlemen, but Monſieur D'Erlach are without hopes and reſources from any one but me, I have hitherto ſupported them to the utmoſt of my abilities, both thoſe who are with me, and thoſe who have not come to England, and I am ſure any one who reads this narrative muſt have thought me a brute if I had not done ſo, till the Company determined what to do for them, longer exceeds my means; nor do I conceive it poſſible that the Company, after examining this buſi-buſineſs to the bottom, ſhould leave ſo heavy a duty upon an individual who has undoubtedly done his utmoſt to fulfil the commiſſion he was intruſted with, had executed what lay upon him to do, and would have brought the regiment to Britain long before the fleet ſailed for India, notwithſtanding all the difficulties he had to overcome; if his Majeſty's miniſters had, according to their engagement, protected the levy after it was made, or the Chairmen of the India Company had not given ſuch orders to the gentlemen they ſent to muſter it in Germany, as from the nature of the thing were impoſſible to be complied with.

I may leave it to the determination of any fair man, who reads the contract, whether the plain interpretation of it is not, that I ſhould have to the 27th of Auguſt to raiſe the men in; whereas the letter of the Chairmen to me, and the inſtructions given by them to Mr. Toone, in fact cut off near a month of the time allotted for my compleating the levy, even according to the ſtrict words of the contract, which I had the moſt poſitive promiſe ſhould not be inſiſted on. Little reaſoning is neceſſary to make this apparent.

If Meſſrs. Bethman had for once overlooked the rule of their houſe, and actually accepted my bill in favour of Mr. de Strahlendorf, inſtead of ſending him word it was good; I ſhould have got to Schaffhauſen on the 26th of Auguſt, and have immediately tendered to Mr. Toone for muſter, the men I had left in the neighbourhood of Schaffhauſen, as well as thoſe obtained from the Duke of Wirtemberg at Lauffen, near

50 leagues nearer England. Captain Toone might have muſtered on the 27th, either the men at Godmantingen and Singen, or thoſe at Rheinau, but the diſtance would not have permitted him to muſter both in the ſame day, far leſs could he have muſtered thoſe at Lauffen; yet his orders were poſitive not to muſter a man after the 27th. Had my men been all raiſed on the 17th, when Captain Toone arrived at Schaffhauſen, it would not have been poſſible, conſidering the diſtance the different parties would have been at to muſter the whole of them in leſs than fifteen days; ſo that had I been on the ſpot when he arrived, it would have been equally out of his power to muſter the whole battalion; and my arrival on the 30th, inſtead of the 26th, as I propoſed, would at the utmoſt have enabled Captain Toone to muſter no more than eighty men. Yet, I preſume, there can be no doubt that had I tendered for muſter eight hundred and fifty men on the 26th of Auguſt, inſtead of the 30th, my engagement would have been ſtrictly executed; and though Captain Toone muſt have equally obeyed his inſtructions in not muſtering a man after the 27th, the failure would clearly have been in the Company, and not in me.

This leads me to conſider what could induce the Chairmen to give inſtructions ſo contrary to the promiſes they had made me, and ſo prejudicial to the real intereſts of the Company. It is apparent, that when they ſent Captain Toone, they thought the Company had no occaſion for all the troops they had contracted for, and wiſhed to get rid of mine; which they were made to imagine, were leſs likely to be raiſed, and leſs fit for the ſervice of the Company than others which they expected. They were miſtaken in both facts. On the 30th of Auguſt, I had at my different rendezvouſes (beſides thoſe which had been taken from me) 850 as good troops as any in Europe, ready to march for England, as ſoon as his Majeſty's Miniſters performed their engagement of obtaining a free paſſage for them, from the different princes, through whoſe territories they muſt proceed. At this time the firſt battalion of Hanoverians, as they are called, was not complete; and of the ſecond, not two hundred

dred were raiſed as I paſſed through Franckfort on the 27th of September. The whole were not compleated time enough to reach Britain before the middle of February, no part of it has yet ſailed for India, and the whole is not yet arrived in England, though we are far advanced in the month of April. I might urge, that a regiment, compoſed of Engliſh and Swiſs officers, and of well diſciplined ſoldiers, levied partly in Switzerland and partly in Suabia, was as well intitled to ſome months grace and favour, as regiments compoſed of raw men, picked up through the different free towns in Germany by Hanoverian officers, and that, had it been granted, the protection and letters Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick honoured me with in the month of Auguſt, by his Secretary, Mr. Schwartz and Captain Grabaroll, would have procured me double the number of men I had contracted to raiſe before the end of November, as I have very ſufficient proof of. But it is unneceſſary for me to do ſo, ſince the only queſtion between the Company and me is of three days.

Were the late Miniſters of his Majeſty ſtill in office, I ſhould feel much leſs regret than I now do, at being under the neceſſity of making apparent to thoſe whom it concerns, the *real cauſe of my regiment's not being ſuffered to reach Britain.*

I ſhould then without ſcruple have loaded them with the reproaches they deſerve at my hands; at preſent I am ſomewhat checked by the idea, that thoſe who know me not, may imagine I ſhould have been more ſparing in my terms, if theſe men had not been already diſgraced. I flatter myſelf, however, that no one who reads my letter to Lord Amherſt, and hears what paſſed between Lord Stormont and me, as ſoon as I returned to England, which I thought it my duty to relate to Mr. Sullivan and Sir William James the next day, can think me baſe enough to ſay more at this moment than I ſhould have done, if they had been ſtill in power. Such of them as have endeavoured to make amends, or have only expreſſed ſorrow for the diſtreſs they have brought on me and my officers, I ſhall not preſs upon.

The Cauſe of the Regiment's not reaching England.

At the *end of March*, Mr. Devaynes, then Chairman of the India Company, applied to government for Britiſh troops, miniſters not having the number required, offered to ſupply the deficiency, either with the troops of German princes, or with thoſe I propoſed to raiſe in Switzerland.

Neither Lord Amherſt nor Mr. Devaynes, from whom I have theſe facts, informed me what number of foreign troops the Company agreed to make uſe of; and it is but lately that I have received certain information, that two thouſand was the utmoſt of ſuch troops the Company thought it prudent to employ in India.

Mr. Devaynes laid the anſwer of Government before the Court of Directors, *which made option of the troops of German princes* in the beginning of April.

Notwithſtanding which option, Government, on the 23d of April recommended the acceptance of the Swiſs to the Chairmen of the Company. This recommendation of his Majeſty's Miniſters did not proceed ſo much from preference of the Swiſs, or from favour to me, as from neceſſity, for they found upon examination, that though they had offered the troops of German princes, they had none at their diſpoſal.

Upon the *27th of April*, the Chairmen accepted and ſigned my propoſals, which the Commander in Chief had again recommended that very morning.

On the *7th of May*, the Secretaries of State refuſed me the ſmall degree of covert aſſiſtance which I had been made to expect, while my propoſals were under diſcuſſion of the Cabinet, though one of them, Lord Stormont, acknowledged it was not probable my levy would ſucceed without the aſſiſtance I required.

It is my buſineſs to explain whence aroſe this change of diſpoſition towards me in the Cabinet. It cannot be ſuppoſed that miniſters, at a time when the fate of India was repreſented to depend on the number of foreign troops to be ſent there by the next fleet, could be ſo very wicked

wicked and abſurd as to recommend a levy to the Eaſt India Company, they did not mean to give ſome degree of countenance to, or thought not likely to ſucceed; ſomething new muſt have occurred that occaſioned a change of opinion in the cabinet.

In the interim of *the 23d of April*, when government had recommended the Swiſs levy, and *the 7th of May*, * when miniſters refuſed to give it either ſupport or countenance, General Freytag's propoſals arrived for raiſing 2000 men in the free towns in Germany by Hanoverian officers. Reaſons extraneous to my ſubject *required* that the cabinet ſhould accept of theſe propoſals, and as the number of foreigners agreed to be employed by the Company was only 2000, the Swiſs were to be got rid of. I have before taken notice of the information given me ſo early as *the 20th of May*, that the offers of General Freytag were actually accepted. But no mention was made of them to the Company till advice had been received of my arrival in Switzerland. Then they were brought forwards, and the Company *deceived by falſe repreſentations*, forced to accept theſe troops to the prejudice of the Swiſs, whom the Chairmen were left to get rid of in any manner they could.

I left England on the 7th of June, General Richard Smith got intelligence of the buſineſs I was gone to Switzerland upon, and meeting Sir William James in the Houſe of Commons, made uſe of ſeveral arguments

* There is one circumſtance that will tend to fix the exact time of General Freytag's arrival; my memorandums were ſent according to the orders of Lord Amherſt, to the Secretaries of State, on the 2d of May. On the 5th I received Lord Stormont's letters to miniſters in Germany ſealed. As I returned to England, I took the liberty of aſking one of them what were the contents of the letter I had brought him, who told me there was ſomething very odd in it for a letter of buſineſs. The nature of my commiſſion was explained, and he ordered to give me "*every aſſiſtance in his power*;" but that theſe words were ſcratched through, and others ſubſtituted in their place, which, had he not been convinced it was impoſſible miniſters would ſend any one on ſuch an errand, without meaning to give him ſome ſupport, he ſhould not have thought himſelf at liberty to take any notice of me at all. From whence I conclude, that the letter was wrote as ſoon as my memorandums were received, and the eraſure made upon the receipt of Mr. Freytag's propoſals.

ments and repreſentations againſt the Company's employing troops of that country, which he finiſhed by deſiring Sir William to obſerve he entered his proteſt againſt the meaſure. Sir William James deſired the General to obſerve in turn that he made this proteſt on *the 26th of June*, two months after the agreement for raiſing Swiſs troops had been ſigned; this fact I have from Sir William James.

Some days afterwards General Smith waited on Mr. Jenkinſon, late Secretary at War, with the like repreſentations againſt employing Swiſs troops; Mr. Jenkinſon artfully coinciding with the reaſons ſtated by General Smith againſt the Swiſs, obſerved that the Company wanted more troops than it was poſſible for Government to give from Britain, and vaunting the goodneſs and diſcipline of Hanoverian troops as well as their connection with this country, hoped the General would not have the ſame objection againſt them as againſt the Swiſs; General Smith ſaying, that if he could be certain of the ſoldiers being Hanoverians as well as the officers, he ſhould be ſatisfied, as they were the next beſt to Britiſh. Mr. Jenkinſon aſſured him he might depend upon it. And upon this, General Smith agreed not to oppoſe the raiſing of the Hanoverians at the India Houſe, and Mr. Jenkinſon, *that the Swiſs ſhould not be employed.* This fact I have from General Smith.*

Thus, at the very time I was exerting myſelf to render what I had ſome reaſon to think ſervice of no ſmall moment to my country and the Eaſt-India Company, and engaging gentlemen of the firſt families and diſtinction in Switzerland, to hazard their lives and fortunes, quit all proſpects in their own country, and refuſe the offers of Holland for the ſervice of England, the very miniſters who had ſent me on this errand were entering into engagements at home to defeat my purpoſe; and the Chairmen of the India Company in a manner forced to give ſuch orders to their Muſter

* For fear of miſtakes in a matter of ſuch moment to me, I put the General's words upon paper the moment after I left him, " At the diſtance of ſeveral months, I can-" not pretend to recollect the very words of Mr. Jenkinſon, but I certainly left him with " the impreſſion that the Swiſs troops ſhould not be employed."

Muſter-Maſter as muſt neceſſarily prevent my regiment though raiſed, from ever reaching Britain.

As ſoon as this reſolution was taken againſt me, reports were circulated by the hirelings of adminiſtration, that miniſters never conſidered the levy of the Swiſs as feaſible, and had done all in their power to prevent Mr. Sullivan and Sir William James from accepting of my offers. Both theſe aſſertions are equally falſe, I was ſcarce acquainted with either of theſe gentlemen, and had never ſo much as ſeen Mr. Sullivan when government deſired him to accept of my propoſals; and as to the ideas miniſtry might then entertain of the probability of my ſucceeding in the levy propoſed, I beg leave to repeat the words Lord Amherſt made uſe of, when I informed his Lordſhip of the Chairmen's having ſigned with me, " Send me information from Switzerland of your proceed-
" ings, becauſe there is the greateſt probability, in caſe of the Swiſs being
" as well inclined to our ſervice as you ſuppoſe, of your being employed
" to raiſe the whole number you offered."

Lord Stormont has indeed dared to tell me, ſince my return from Switzerland, that his Majeſty's miniſters had neither examined nor recommended my propoſals to the Eaſt-India Company, and that he was extremely ſurpriſed and very ſorry to hear from the Chairmen that they had actually ſigned with me. My reply at the moment was, " When one of the
" Cabinet aſſerts the very reverſe of two others in the ſame high depart-
" ment, what can a private man do, but lift up his hands and eyes to hea-
" ven, and aſk what crime he has committed that he ſhould be brought
" among ſuch a ſet of men?" As to the firſt part of his Lordſhip's aſſertion, let Lord Amherſt (who preſſed me, at the deſire of Lord Stormont, to name as many Scotch and Dutch officers in my regiment as poſſible) anſwer for me, as well as the minutes of the conference of the Cabinet, with the Chairmen, at which Lord Stormont was preſent: but as to the ſecond part, I give his Lordſhip moſt entire credit; he was, I dare ſay, moſt extremely ſorry that the Chairmen had not foreſeen the arrival of General Freytag, and had not therefore delayed paying

the ſame attention to the recommendation of the cabinet on my propoſals as they had uniformly done to every other. Had General Freytag's propoſals for raiſing Hanoverian battalions been laid before the cabinet at the ſame time with mine for raiſing Swiſs, I ſhould have thought, that connected as Hanover ſtands with this country, it was but reaſonable to give them the preference, but whatever attention it is proper and politic for the miniſters of this country to ſhew that part of his Majeſty's dominions, ſurely it could not be neceſſary to make a ſacrifice of Swiſs gentlemen, who preferred the ſervice of this country to that of any other. My offers were accepted and ſigned, before thoſe of General Freytag were made. In theſe circumſtances Honeſt Men would have thought it neceſſary to ſupport an engagement they had entered into, Wiſe Men, if ſubſequent offers appeared preferable to them, would have obtained his conſent to cancel that which they wiſhed to get rid of before more miſchief was done, but Theſe, as void of common humanity and feeling as of ſenſe and underſtanding, determined without any remorſe, not only to ſacrifice ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects, who earneſtly wiſhed to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their country, but to permit foreigners to be drawn into the ſame ſnare, and in return for the preference they gave this country to France and Holland, allow them to riſk death or priſon, penury and want, after it was reſolved the levy ſhould not take place. Of what conſequence was the fate of ſubjects or well-wiſhers of this country to miniſters who flattered themſelves, that as there was no proof of their interference under their own hands the raiſing of a regiment at 300 leagues diſtance, would paſs in the world as a private affair between the Eaſt-India Company and a Mr. Erſkine. Weak and ſhallow men! Who think in matters of ſuch importance words will efface ſubſtance, that a Company, which keeps 100,000 men in the field can be diſtinguiſhed from the nation to which it belongs.

The court of France viewed my levy in the ſame light as the miniſters of this country had done, before private and dirty conſideration of emolument to individuals made them affect another language.

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The miniſters of France foreſaw that one regiment raiſed in Switzerland, more would neceſſarily follow, and that Britain would leſſen thereby the reſcources of France at the ſame time that ſhe increaſed her own. No ſooner did they perceive that the perſon employed to make this levy, took ſuch means and precautions as muſt inſure ſucceſs, if not thwarted by them, than they laboured to diſappoint him, the ſame as if the fate of the war had depended upon it; every canton was preſſed to the utmoſt, money diſtributed in ſuch as ſeemed inclined to favour me, Governors of Provinces bribed to betray me; and theſe means failing, two of the cantons were urged to march an armed body into free ſtates, and to ſeize my unarmed men by force. After which circular letters were wrote by the Ambaſſador to every canton, thanking them in the name of the King of France for the vigour which they had exerted to prevent a levy contradictory to the ſpirit of the alliance between that crown and the ſtates of Switzerland.

Conſidering the pains taken by France to prevent my ſucceſs, I ſhould have felt no ſhame at failing, even if the miniſters of my own country had given me all the ſupport in their power, but they joining with the enemies of England to cruſh an individual thereof, I may claim ſome degree of merit in having overcome the difficulties both threw in my way. My levy was made before the 27th of Auguſt, and the diſgrace of loſing them afterwards, does not belong to me, but to thoſe who deſerted me.

It is now, I underſtand given out that my regiment was never raiſed, but of that I have every proof poſſible, and deſire to be judged only as that proof may be ſatisfactory or not; but it is true, that though more than the number engaged for, were raiſed before the 27th of Auguſt, none were tendered to be muſtered till the 30th of Auguſt, and then only 850. The cauſes of this are explained in the foregoing part of this narrative.

Having, I ſhould preſume, ſhewn to the ſatisfaction of every unprejudiced man that I have, bona fide, executed my part of the contract, and that my

my regiment was prevented reaching England by the desertion of his Majesty's ministers, who were resolved that it should not get there, who took no steps to protect the Swiss officers they had allowed me to draw in either to obtain their release from prison when they were threatened with death, or employment when they escaped, who seemed to have little other regret upon this business, than that they and I were not hanged together for facts executed by their orders; it may not be improper for me to go a step farther, and shew what they supposed Hanoverian troops were, for whom we were sacrificed.

I have no doubt that General Smith delivered his real sentiments of Swiss troops to the Secretary at War, and whether he was founded therein or not, it was his duty to state them to those at the helm; that gentleman will probably be surprised when he learns that the effect of his representations has been to load the Company with the very kind of troops he purposed to get rid of, and to make the Company loose the service of such troops as I am sure he would have approved of, if he had ever seen them.

The troops called Swiss, that served in India while General Smith was gaining so great reputation and fortune there, were commanded by very gallant gentlemen, whose services will not be denied either by General Smith or any other officer who has had the good fortune of being acquainted with them, but of the soldiers, I may venture to assert there were not fifty Swiss amongst them. These troops consisted of independent companies, raised by Swiss officers in the free towns of Germany. And notwithstanding the assurances given General Smith by Mr. Jenkinson, the foreign troops gone, or going to India, are exactly of the same kind. They were all picked up (as I am ready to prove) by Hanoverian officers in the different free towns up and down Germany, raw and undisciplined men; I will go farther, and assert that I have it on *the very best authority*, that the Elector and Regency of Hanover, stipulated from the commencement, that there should not be a Hanoverian soldier in either regiment; on my return through Germany, I saw officers of the second

battalion

battalion recruiting in every free town I paſſed through, from them I learned that they wanted more than 800 men to be complete, and notwithſtanding the conſequence this levy was repreſented of to the fate of India, the battalion was not complete till the middle of January, nor in England time enough to ſail with the fleet; this was owing to the parſimony with which the levy was conducted. The bounty-money given by the Company, was 7l. 7s. yet the Major of the ſecond battalion told me at Frankfort, on the 27th of September, that he had a fortnight before, been offered 500 good troops, at 5l. 5s. a man, which he was anxious to accept of, but upon acquainting the commanding officer at Hanover, he had received the moſt poſitive orders upon no account whatever, to give more than 3l. 8s. per man. Theſe are the troops General Smith agreed not to oppoſe upon the aſſurances of the Secretary at War, that every man ſhould be Hanoverian; theſe are the troops for whom a regiment compoſed partly of Swiſs Militia, and partly of Wirtemberg ſoldiers, all diſciplined for two years before were ſacrificed.

General Smith imagined the troops I had to raiſe would mutiny or deſert to the country powers in India; public virtue, therefore, prompted him to make repreſentations againſt employing them, though he knew the agreement for raiſing them had been ſigned with me two months before, and that I was acting thereon: Surely private virtue ought to have prompted him, when he found his opinion of ſo much weight with the Secretary at War, to repreſent that engagements with individuals ought not to be ſet aſide without thoſe individuals being informed thereof, and indemnified of the loſſes they might ſuſtain thereby. And I cannot but wonder that a man of the General's perſpicuity did not foreſee that one ſo ready as the Secretary at War to break a formal contract entered into with me, might not be very ſcrupulous in adhering to the aſſurances given him, which, if evaded, the Company would be ſaddled with thoſe very kind of troops the virtue of General Smith roſe up in arms againſt, and his repreſentations be attended with no other advantage than the ruin of a man formerly in ſome degree of intimacy with him.

Mr. Jenkinſon, who from his ſituation could not be ignorant of the ſtipulation made by the regency of Hanover, that no ſubject of the Electorate ſhould be inliſted in theſe regiments, I dare ſay laughed in his ſleeve at the credulity of General Smith, and prided himſelf in the innocent deceit that prevented a favourite meaſure from being oppoſed at the India-Houſe.

Relying upon the honour of the Eaſt-India Company of England, I have no doubt, that when theſe facts are properly inveſtigated and underſtood, I ſhall find both the Directors and Proprietors as anxious as myſelf to provide for officers whom the deceit practiſed on me has led into ruin; and thereby reſcue the reputation of the Company, as well as mine, from diſgrace in foreign countries.

Copy

Copy of a Letter to Lord AMHERST.

Ranelagh, Nov. 2, 1781.

MY LORD,

I DID myſelf the honour of waiting upon your Lordſhip, in conſequence of your note of the 27th ult. as ſoon as your Lordſhip returned to town, and was much mortified to find from Mr. Morſe that poſſibly I might not be admitted before you went back to the country. I am ſorry to be ſo troubleſome, but, as I apprehend my letter to the Chairmen of the Eaſt-India Company was too ill expreſſed for your Lordſhip to underſtand the nature of the alternative propoſed to them therein, I am under the neceſſity of troubling you with an explanation by letter, ſince I cannot have the opportunity of doing ſo in perſon.

I was informed, that during my abſence from Britain an act of parliament paſſed, enabling the Eaſt-India Company to have a depot for two thouſand men in Britain. The form theſe troops were to be modelled in I underſtood was left to the Company. But, if I conceive your Lordſhip's note aright, my information was erroneous; though his Majeſty's miniſters conſider the raiſing of a regiment of foreigners to have been quite a private affair between the Eaſt-India Company and me, it is the King's miniſters alone who are to decide on the proper mode of forming thoſe troops which parliament has enabled the Eaſt-India Company to raiſe in his Majeſty's dominions.

I hope your Lordſhip will have the goodneſs to pardon the error I have been led into by falſe information, of propoſing an alternative of this nature to the Eaſt-India Company; with your Lordſhip's permiſſion I ſhall, at your next return from the country, lay before you my propoſed alternative

alternative for indemnifying the Company, my officers, and myſelf, from the loſſes we have ſuſtained from want of ſupport from his Majeſty's miniſters, which I intreat your Lordſhip to communicate to the reſt of them as ſoon as poſſible.

I rely upon your Lordſhip's honour and juſtice to repreſent unto them, that though, *officially ſpeaking*, the contract the Company entered into with me may be ſtiled a private affair, yet it ſhould be remembered, that my propoſals, on which the contract was founded, were made to his Majeſty, and had been recommended by his Miniſters to the Eaſt-India Company, and that I conſented to ſign with the Chairmen thereof, from underſtanding your Lordſhip engaged that they would act by me and thoſe engaged with me in the ſame liberal manner as his Majeſty's miniſters have ever been accuſtomed to do with individuals; eſpecially that I ſhould be protected from ſuch cavils of law as an officer can ſcarce be ſuppoſed capable of guarding againſt. Such, I preſume, every officer muſt think that argument to be, which the Chairmen ſeem inclined to make uſe of, now that his Majeſty's miniſters appear to have withdrawn their protection from me and my deſerted officers.

Was I troubling your Lordſhip on my own account only, I ſhould not dare to repreſent to you one half of thoſe circumſtances which the honour of my country, as well as that which is perſonal to me, demand at my hands, in behalf of thoſe unfortunate men, whoſe lives are ſtill in danger, and whoſe whole property and expectations in their own country are already ſacrificed by their endaavours to be of ſervice to this. Let me beſeech of your Lordſhip's humanity to conſider and repreſent to the reſt of his Majeſty's miniſters, what foreign nations will think and ſay, when it ſhall be known that they would neither repreſent againſt the injuſtice of trying men by laws made ſubſequent to the facts my officers ſtand accuſed of, nor even privately intercede that the rigour of ſuch law ſhould not be exerted againſt them. Theſe men are, it is true, ſubjects of the ſtates about to judge them, but they are in the ſervice of Britain; and it can ſcarce be believed that the miniſters of this country will

will take no ſtep to ſave their lives, and heſitate at giving them aſſurance of employment if they ſhould be fortunate enough to eſcape, under the pretence that the concerns of the Eaſt-India Company are entirely of a private nature. Foreigners will never be able to underſtand a diſtinction which it is difficult for an Engliſhman to comprehend!

I intreat your Lordſhip's directions what anſwer I am to make to theſe ruined men when they call upon me as a gentleman to ſay, whether my regiment was raiſed with or without the concurrence of his Majeſty's miniſters? And to declare what had paſſed between your Lordſhip and me relating to this buſineſs? Will your Lordſhip be cruel enough to deny that I repreſented to you I had not the ſame confidence in the miniſters of the Eaſt-India Company as in thoſe of his Majeſty; that I had no authority from gentlemen of the country you was ſending me to for ſigning articles with Mr. Sullivan and Sir William James; and that I could only do ſo from underſtanding and truſting that it was the ſame thing as if I had had the honour of ſigning with your Lordſhip. Your Lordſhip knows, that though no abſolute promiſe thereof was made me, I was given to underſtand, that as ſoon as my regiment was actually raiſed, the cloak of the Eaſt-India Company's name ſhould be thrown aſide, and the regiment have the honour of ſerving the King the ſame as if it had been raiſed in his Majeſty's name.

And ſuppoſing your Lordſhip's commands ſhould force me to ſilence on what has paſſed between us in private, what anſwer am I to give to gentlemen ignorant of the ways of this country, when aſked, whether the King's miniſters have not influence enough with the Eaſt-India Company to perſuade them to do juſtice? Muſt I ſay that they have not, or that they will not exert it in favour of foreigners who have loſt their all by preferring the ſervice of this country to that of France or Holland?

Three of my officers have avoided the ſnares that were laid for them and myſelf; two have eſcaped from priſon; they are all on their road to England: Are they to ſtarve when they come? Not while I have bread to give them: but the little means I have will not ſupport them long.

I proteſt to your Lordſhip, that had I been the only ſufferer in this affair, I ſhould ſcarce have complained, even to your Lordſhip; but my duty and honour requiſe I ſhould ſtate the caſe of my officers in the moſt forcible, though reſpectful, language I can find words to expreſs myſelf in. Should my warmth in their cauſe have hurried me too far, I truſt in your Lordſhip's goodneſs to pardon me, and to make allowances for the feelings I muſt neceſſarily have on finding myſelf ſo unexpectedly denied by his Majeſty's miniſters, and likely thereby to have the ruin of ſo many gallant men laid at my door.

I have the honour to be,

With the greateſt reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

J. F. ERSKINE.

To the Right Honourable Lord Amherſt,
Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

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